

/153 cont. /

325
[237]

A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.

A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412

Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326

The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/

P. Political Conditions

721

The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714]

There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726

I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

/154 cont. /

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command.
701 Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[838] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is
[756] merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

726 There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.
619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auen settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auen settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auen settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auen of Gam and the Auen of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auen and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windcreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

2: Kaufmann--74 G-5 (1908) 1910

FX10 Bushmen FX10

Auen

535
● 726



Photo. 41.
War Dance.



Photo. 42.
War Dance.

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

● 726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

(113)

3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste
[Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
[535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

IAVIN
NARON
NOGAD

[73 cont.]

726

Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (/num). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821

The sun is a man and is called /gam or kha//ä, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called !nui or /nauga, "the one who runs around."

773

Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together.

821

One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmament.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

776
821

Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called Gowa. They do

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619 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes,
621 owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again
[221] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common
[423] hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only
of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found
hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each
band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery,
619 however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between
621 different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most
important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to deter-
mine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are
indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for
ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn
together from several neighbouring villages,¹ while Lebzelter, in his
[574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement
that in the months of March and April different bands come together
for great feasts.² Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and
● 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several
619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band,
621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.³ Such
alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear
that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized
together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations
as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form
of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further
research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon
the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are
619 not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-
621 stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the
628 form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.⁴ Trespass especially
[685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who
648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,
685

¹ Kaufmann, "Die Aua," 117.² Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten,'" 13.³ Kaufmann, op. cit., 114.⁴ Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 11; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 81.

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual,
 726 but the extent of each campaign is small.¹ The chiefs have general
 701 command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace,
 [622] where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience
 [887] naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and
 [411] ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons
 used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear.
 The magician also fights, but without any special authority or
 functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns,
 but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy
 Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their
 628 nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war,
 721 but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin,
 then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together
 and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on,
 and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy
 village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made
 628 and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year,
 726 they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat
 warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the
 spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling,
 but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he
 pleased.

628 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood
 727 feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently
 happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and
 girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be
 used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the
 [184] burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will
 [721] under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or
 even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other
 hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the
 possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens
 to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

¹ Kaufmann, op. cit., 134; Fourie, op. cit., 85.